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by the Editor

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Notes of the Month

PROSPECTS OF 1972

'If there must be a war there, let it be Asians against Asians, with our support on the side of freedom.'

President EISENHOWER, election campaign speech in Illinois, October 2, 1952.

'It is cheaper to fight with soldiers of foreign nations even if we have to equip them than with American boys, and there is much less loss of American life.'

Senator TAFT, Republican leader, speech in Washington, May 19, 1951.

December 14, 1971

With the guns blazing between India and Pakistan during the closing weeks of 1971; with the explosive situation in the Middle East; with the intensified American bombardment and devastation in South East Asia; with the stormy battles between the popular forces and counter-revolution or neo-colonialist intervention in Latin America and Africa; and with delays still holding up the finalising of the agreements on West Berlin and the future of East-West relations in Europe; it would be rashly presumptuous to assume an easy future for 1972.

Battle of 1972

The year 1971 began with the extension of the war of the American invaders in Indo-China to enlarge their operations against Laos. Eight months of 1971, from March to the beginning of December, saw an unexampled murderous military assault, on a scale recalling the days of Hitler and Hirohito, against a nation of 75 millions who had expressed in an overwhelming democratic vote their desire for freedom and self-government. Throughout these eight months the imperialist powers remained deaf to the appeals of India and world progressive opinion to exercise a positive role to end this criminal genocide, as they could have done by stopping supplies to the butcher regime ruling West Pakistan, and so make possible a political settlement in accordance with the just democratic demands of the people subjected to terror. Instead, they poured in supplies and

grants and credits to the butcher regime, and the rulers of American imperialism were in the forefront to pour in arms, while India was left to receive more than 10 million refugees, according to official statements, and strain her already over-strained economy to endeavour to maintain them. By the beginning of December the genocide regime, hard-pressed by the failure of its military assault to crush the popular resistance in its Eastern region, and by the refusal of India, despite all the strain of the refugees, to have recourse to war, adopted the desperate expedient of carrying forward the previous continuous border clashes to full-scale war both in the East and in the West against India. Thus the year which had begun with the war of the American aggressors in South-East Asia closed with the extension of war, fomented by the American financing and arming of a butcher regime against peaceful democratic demands of the people, over the whole sub-continent of Southern Asia, comprising one-fifth of the human race.

The Choice before Us

In the light of the present situation we have every reason to look forward to the prospect that the outcome of this conflict, however cruel the costs, will fully establish for all time the freedom of the nation which has been subjected to such terrible conditions. But the path is still rocky and strewn with multiple menace from many quarters. The urgency of this situation, whose repercussions are still extending and cannot yet be fully judged, must necessarily govern our immediate approach to the prospects of 1972. At the same time it is now more than ever necessary to maintain a balanced view of the whole world situation. For there is every ground for confidence that the strength of the popular forces, if effectively mobilised, will be able to defeat the offensive of the enemies of peace and popular advance, and bring a positive outcome for the prospects of 1972.

Two-fold Trend

All the blood-stained battles, storms and dangers cannot hide from recognition the dominant trend of our era which is changing the balance of the world. This dominant trend during the past year has found expression in a series of significant defeats of the old policies of the cold war and of American world domination. The American policy, maintained for 22 years, to refuse recognition and seek to isolate the Chinese People's Republic has suffered shipwreck, with the full recognition of the rights of People's China in the United Nations, and the defeat of the American 'Two Chinas' resolution.

This represents a historic victory for socialism in the world, whatever the temporary problems arising from current trends in the policy of China, or the attempts of American imperialism to entangle China in co-operation in its reactionary policies, as in the support of the butcher General Yahya. The American war in Vietnam has resulted in conspicuous failure, leading to universal discredit, not only among states and peoples all over the world, but in the view of the majority of American public opinion, and even with extending recognition in official quarters that the whole war has been a strategic blunder. In the Middle East the anti-imperialist determination of the people in the cause of Arab liberation has not been blunted or turned aside by all the pressures and offers of successive high-powered American agents; and the Soviet-Egyptian Treaty represents a powerful factor for stability towards the aim of a political solution, with the accompanying Soviet-Egyptian joint statement explicitly condemning 'attempts to spread anti-communism and anti-Sovietism' as 'serving the international imperialist forces and hampering the development of the national liberation movement.' In Europe the rigid inflexibility of the cold war division of Europe which found expression in Nato, the Hallstein Doctrine to block East-West relations, and the policies of Adenauer, Home, Bevin or Stewart, has given place to the new currents which have found expression in the closer French-Soviet co-operation, the Ostpolitik of Brandt and the moves towards a European Security Conference. But the fulfilment of all these favourable possibilities which open out in the coming year will depend on the active fight of the labour movement and all democratic and progressive sections to defeat the blocking tactics of the still powerfully entrenched gladiators of reaction, with the British Tory Government as their main representative.

A Year of Decision

With this developing battle of alternative policies 1972 is likely to prove a year of decision both in Britain and internationally. In Britain this year is due to see the decisive crunch of class confrontation between the offensive of the Tory Government determined to enforce the operation of the Industrial Relations Act, and to impose the heavy new burdens of entry into the Common Market, against the opposition of the 10 millions of the organised working class, representing the majority of the people. Internationally the key decisions will have to be taken for the final adoption of the agreements on West Berlin and the relations of the two German states; the ratification of the treaties of Federal Germany with the Soviet Union

and Poland; the practical steps for the convening of the European Security Conference, the demand for which is now supported by the majority of European states; as well as the critical steps towards a mutual reduction of forces in Europe and of armaments or limitation of armaments, including the Soviet proposal for a World Disarmament Conference of all states, which received overwhelming support from the UN Assembly in the face of isolated US-Chinese opposition. The battle on all these issues is still in full progress. 'The Western Powers have warned Herr Brandt not to go too far in his dealings with the East German authorities in Berlin' (*Daily Telegraph*, November 27, 1971). The whole series of summit meetings of President Nixon with the various Western Governments precede his visit to Peking in February to be followed finally by his visit to Moscow. If the popular response to the new favourable possibilities which have opened out for a break with the old bankrupt cold war impasse, and an advance to a détente and more constructive policies, succeeds in defeating the blocking tactics of the opponents of such a détente, and achieves significant positive results, then indeed 1972 could prove an historic turning point, ending the transitional conditions of the post-war period of 1945-71, and opening a new era of East-West relations and international development. But the outcome depends on the strength of the struggle of the popular progressive forces throughout the world.

2. INDIA, PAKISTAN AND BANGLADESH

The conflict between the armed forces of India and Pakistan has been accompanied by a chorus of deprecatory, shocked, disapproving noises, as of an innocent bystander at a street brawl, on the part of the imperialist powers. The United States, the principal financier and armourer of the butcher regime in West Pakistan, whose armed assault against the democratic verdict of the people began the conflict, has accused India of 'aggression'. But in fact the real responsibility for the conflict rests with imperialism from the beginning.

Who Partitioned India?

A quarter of a century ago the united uprising of the entire Indian people in 1946, with the revolt of the Royal Indian Navy, accompanying actions in other military centres, mass strikes, and the unbroken

resistance of the people in face of wholesale shooting and killing from British guns, compelled the British rulers to decide that the time had come when they would have to withdraw. On March 18, 1946, the Royal Indian Navy revolted. On March 19 Premier Attlee got up in the British House of Commons to announce the new angle of vision to concede independence and despatch the Cripps Mission to negotiate the terms. The non-communal unity of the Indian peoples' revolt thus compelled Britain to concede independence. This non-communal unity of this mass revolt which won independence was demonstrated by the ratings of the Royal Indian Navy, who tore down the Union Jack and ran up on the battleships *jointly* the flags of the Congress, the Moslem League and the Red Flag. The slogans of the mass demonstrations were: 'Hindus and Moslems Unite!' 'Down with British Imperialism!' The eye-witness account of a British officer in Bombay reported: 'The sight that gave the brass-hats the jitters was the Congress Tricolour, the Moslem League Crescent and the Red Flag carried side by side in processions.' In face of this non-communal unity of the Indian masses in revolt it was British imperialism which, in the process of negotiation with the upper class leadership (who had opposed and condemned the mass revolt and co-operated with the British Commander-in-Chief) imposed partition by the Mountbatten Settlement as part of the price of independence.

How Imperialism Prepared Partition

Today the attempt is made to conceal the responsibility for the partition of India, into the separate states of India and Pakistan, through the Mountbatten Settlement, by laying the blame on the demand of Jinnah and the Moslem League as compelling the reluctant acquiescence of Mountbatten and British officialism. But it should be remembered that the foundation of the Moslem League in 1906 was originally inspired, as abundant subsequent available testimony has witnessed, by British high official quarters around the Viceroy at the time, Lord Minto (see, for example, Lady Minto's memoirs, *India, Minto and Morley*, published in 1934, recalling the official jubilation on the foundation of the Moslem League as representing 'the pulling back of 62 millions of Indians, Moslems, from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition, Congress'). The Moslem deputation to the Viceroy in 1906, for the establishment of separate communal electorates, was, according to the subsequent revelations of the Moslem leader Mohammed Ali, in 1923, 'a command performance', arranged by the Government. The Moslem

League President, M. A. Jinnah, at the time of the Congress-League's Lucknow Pact in 1916, proclaimed the aim of 'the birth of a united India'. Congress-League co-operation after the first world war brought the highest level of the national struggle. The proposal for the formation of a separate state of 'Pakistan' was rejected by the Moslem League in 1933 (in the evidence submitted by its representatives to the Joint Committee on Constitutional Reform) as 'chimerical and unacceptable'. If Congress-League co-operation in the cause of a united national struggle became disrupted during the 1930s onwards, this was the consequence of faults on the part of the leadership on both sides; and if the Moslem League by 1940 adopted the aim of Pakistan and was able to organise a measure of mass support for this demand, this reflected in part a confused expression of the growth of multi-national consciousness within India, distorted into sectarian channels by the failure of a united national leadership of the mass movement. The decisive responsibility of British imperialist policy for the growth of Hindu-Moslem antagonism was recognised by the evidence of the Simon Commission Report in 1930, which recorded: (1) that Hindu-Moslem antagonism occurred mainly in the directly ruled British territories, not in the adjoining Indian states, although there was a similar inter-mingling of religions in both; (2) that in 'British India a generation ago . . . communal tension as a threat to civil peace was at a minimum.'

Price of Partition

The partition imposed on India by Britain through the Mountbatten Settlement was proclaimed to be on the basis of treating religion as equivalent to nationality. The harmfulness of this false principle has been demonstrated throughout the modern historical record from the days of the religious wars to the modern role of such states based on religion as Israel and Northern Ireland, (one of the weaknesses of the Irish Republic also, hindering the aim of unity with the North, is Article 44 of the Constitution establishing the 'special position' of the Catholic Church). On the basis of this false principle it was declared necessary to divide India into two separate states to correspond to the existence of two major religions in India, with a separate state for the minority religion. But in real life religions were intermingled all over India. Hindus and Moslems had lived peaceably together for generations until the British rulers in the days of the decline of their rule sought to divide and disorganise the advancing popular national movement by promoting communal antagonism as an instrument of policy. The conspicuous example of

this deliberate policy was the establishment of communal electorates, the most potent instrument to poison political life with communal antagonism. When as their final act in the moment of ending their administration the British rulers carried forward this vicious system of communal division to the point of partitioning India into two separate states on the basis of religion, this partition was not only based on a false principle, but entailed the most disastrous consequences. In view of the actual intermingling of religions all over India the execution of this partition in the name of religion meant that the living body of India had to be carved up to create from above a geographically most artificial state composed of two entirely disparate sections with a thousand miles of Indian territory between. The immediate result was to let loose a holocaust of communal conflict and slaughter, with mass flights of refugees, on such a horrifying scale that Gandhi explicitly declared he could not recognise this independence or join in its celebration. But the long-term effects were even more disastrous.

Heritage of Conflict

In place of a progressive advancing united People's India the partition imposed by British imperialism produced a legacy of two separate sovereign states involved in chronically recurrent conflict. While the real fundamental problem was the desperate poverty of the masses of the people, the all too inadequate resources of the populations of both states, so urgently needed for development, were crippled by a fantastically disproportionate military expenditure generated by this conflict. This burden of military expenditure facilitated imperialist penetration. Three wars have already taken place between the two successor states established by British imperialist partition. The first war, over Kashmir, took place immediately after independence, and ended with a most unstable cease-fire line carving up the living body of the Kashmiri people, and thus reproducing the partition of India with the partition of Kashmir. It was a characteristic irony of this war that at that time the armies of both the warring states were still formally under British commanders-in-chief. The second war in 1965 was only settled, not by the role of Britain, though both were members of the British Commonwealth but by the mediation of the Soviet Union leading to the Joint Declaration at Tashkent in January 1966. The third war, on a scale far exceeding the previous two, has now developed. Thus, so far from imperialism being innocent, the present conflict is the bitter fruit of the inheritance of a long line of imperialist policy.

Long Search for a Political Solution

Once imperialism had imposed partition through the Mountbatten Settlement, the interests of the peoples in both the new states, irrespective of their opinion of the partition, were to seek to fulfil a peaceful development of popular progressive advance within the conditions of the new states in which they found themselves. It was recognised by all progressive circles on both sides that, once partition had been imposed, to challenge partition, however open to criticism its consequences, was not in the interests of peaceful development. The aim needed to be to concentrate on peaceful democratic development in both states, and for friendly peaceful relations between them. In India a very considerable democratic advance has been achieved during this quarter of a century. A secular democratic Republic was established, with universal suffrage, a functioning parliament, regular elections and a wide measure of freedom of expression, press, meeting and organisation, despite negative features of various special powers, intermittent police actions and the limitations of the inherited social structure as well as the economic strength of the monopolies and foreign capitalist interests. At the last election in March 1971, the gigantic Indian electorate of 272 millions inflicted a signal defeat on the representatives of reaction, equally the breakaway right-wing Congress Opposition and the right-wing parties based on the old displaced feudal elements and the new monopoly interests. In international affairs India has pursued a consistent general line of non-alignment, resisting all the attempts at involvement in the various imperialist military alliances, such as Cento or Seato, designed to involve the newly-independent states in a military imperialist network. India fulfilled a foremost positive role for peace in the world settlement of the Korean war and in public opposition to the Suez war of Anglo-French imperialism and Israel. Similarly in face of the prolonged strain of the military assault on the people of what was East Pakistan and the consequent flow of over 10 million refugees to India, the Indian Government resisted war clamour and sought to the last for a political solution, until the direct aggression of the military regime of General Yahya across the borders finally compelled war.

Difficult Path of the People of Pakistan

Far more difficult has been the path for the people of Pakistan in their striving for democratic development. Pakistan was established by its Constitution on a theocratic basis as an 'Islamic Republic'. While the most numerous proportion of its population was in the

Eastern region, and the main resources for revenue and foreign exchange came from there, power was concentrated in a narrow feudal-military clique and handful of wealthy families dominating West Pakistan, who treated East Pakistan as a colonial annexe to exploit. The chief economist of the Pakistan planning commission reported in 1968 that 22 wealthy families in Pakistan owned 66 per cent of its industrial assets, 79 per cent of insurance and 80 per cent of its banking assets. While the jute exports of East Pakistan, with its population of 75 millions, provided the main foreign exchange for Pakistan as a whole, it was West Pakistan, with a population of 58 millions, which received 70 per cent of the imports, 70 per cent of foreign aid, monopolised 85 per cent of the central bureaucracy and 90 per cent of the army. Four-fifths of the central government's development expenditure was concentrated on West Pakistan, with the development of industries in the West using raw materials from the East, and 20 times as much was spent on agricultural development in the West as in the East. In the face of these conditions the development of the democratic struggle of the peoples of Pakistan, including that of the nations held subject to the domination of the ruling clique in the Western region, the peoples of the North-West Frontier, Baluchistan and Sind, alongside the high record of working class struggle in the Punjab, has shown that the foremost role has been consistently fulfilled by the people of East Pakistan, the most heavily oppressed and exploited section, and the most politically advanced.

Battle of Military Dictatorship and Democracy

From the outset under the ruling governments which maintained their power against the people Pakistan has functioned as a willing satellite of imperialism, initially British, and subsequently American, and a brutal regime of anti-democratic suppression. Pakistan has enjoyed the unique distinction of being simultaneously a member of Cento and of Seato, the two imperialist military alliances directed against Asian liberation. Cento was originally the Baghdad Pact, because it was based on Iraq under the dictatorial regime of Nuri Said, and in this way disguised as a nominally Arab combination. Egypt's resistance to pressure to join the Baghdad Pact was the starting point of the conflict which culminated in the Suez war of British and French imperialism with the Israeli cat's-paw against Egypt. While India took a courageous public stand against the infamous Suez war, the Pakistan Government gave its public support, in defiance of the feelings of the people wholly sympathetic to the cause of Arab liberation. After the Iraq revolution of 1958 had

ended the rule of Nuri and brought the withdrawal of Iraq from the Baghdad Pact, the name was changed to Cento, since the last figleaf of Arab participation had vanished, and it was laid bare as an open anti-Arab military alliance (Britain, Iran, Turkey, Pakistan) for imperialist domination of the Middle East. Similarly with Seato alongside Anzus for South-East Asia. All this selling of Pakistan to be an instrument of Western imperialism against Asian liberation was an outrage to the anti-imperialist feelings of the people of Pakistan. Hence the internal record has seen the ceaseless struggle between the democratic strivings of the people and the brutal suppression conducted by the anti-democratic ruling regime.

Rising Level of Democratic Struggle in Pakistan

All the recent years in Pakistan have seen the increasing brutality of the military dictatorship and the rising level of popular struggle against it. The Constitution which had been promulgated after long preparation in 1956 was abrogated in 1958 to be replaced by the military dictatorship of General Ayub Khan, who became President, Commander-in-Chief, and Chief Martial Law Administrator. By 1969 the level of popular unrest and mass strikes compelled Ayub to resign, and he was succeeded by the military dictatorship of General Yahya Khan. Yahya continued the regime of martial law, but found himself compelled by the strength of popular discontent and struggle to make promises of constitutional advance in the direction of democracy, and for this purpose to concede the holding of a direct universal suffrage general election (though with the Communist Party still banned) for all Pakistan to elect a National Assembly which would draw up a Constitution. The result of this election, held in December 1970, staggered the military rulers. The Awami League, on a programme of progressive democratic reforms and self-governing autonomy for East Pakistan, won 167 of the 169 seats in East Pakistan, and thereby an absolute majority of the 313 seats for all Pakistan. In face of this overwhelming democratic verdict General Yahya postponed the meeting of the National Assembly till March 25, and used this interim period to make a show of negotiations with the leader of the Awami League, Shaikh Mujibur Rahman, but actually to concentrate troops for the planned blow against the people. On the evening of March 25 the blow was struck. Shaikh Mujibur was arrested and deported to West Pakistan for a secret trial before a military tribunal; the Awami League was banned and all elected bodies dissolved; and an unprecedented military onslaught was let loose on the people of East Pakistan, with systematic

slaughter of popular leaders, and a reign of terror, repression and arson, leading to hundreds of thousands of dead and the flight of 10 million refugees to India. Never in history has there been so glaring an example of an immediate answer in blood to aim to reverse a democratic verdict. From this springs the whole present conflict.

Salute to Bangladesh

No democratic government in the world can claim more unassailable credentials by every measure of democratic electoral expression of the will of the people than the present Government of Bangladesh. In all the historic struggles against oppression and exploitation the people of East Bengal have fought with honour in the forefront since long before the foundation of Pakistan. When Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal in 1905 the mass movement of resistance against that partition reached such strength throughout Bengal that by 1911 at the Durbar the partition had to be cancelled as a concession to national feeling. In the face of the heaviest exploitation for the benefit of the ruling clique centred in West Pakistan, deprivation of resources and development, successive natural disasters and ceaseless political bans, they have throughout carried forward their consistent democratic political struggle. They showed their political maturity when in the moment of opportunity extorted by their struggle, the general election of December 1970, they united all the forces of the left, communist and non-communist, around the Awami League to ensure the staggering majority of 167 out of 169 seats. In the face of the unexampled murderous suppression by the overwhelmingly superior forces of armoured troops, tanks and bombers imported into East Pakistan, they carried forward the guerrilla struggle of the Mukti Bahini to such a stage of strength that the rule of the imposed governing regime could only be effective on the direct basis of the military posts held and not in the territory beyond. The West Pakistan Government, conscious of its failing hold in East Pakistan, and unable to provoke the Indian Government into war, finally conducted heavy long-range bombardment across the frontier into India, thereby compelling the Indian armed forces to cross the frontier to deal with the bombarding positions. Thereupon the West Pakistan Government seized the opportunity to open full-scale war against India, not only in the East, but also in the West, through the planned offensive in Kashmir, and thereby sought through this desperate strategy to cover up the bankruptcy of their military anti-democratic suppression in the Eastern region by

presenting it as a war between India and Pakistan, and on this basis hoping for the intervention of the imperialist powers. The war came, not through the will of the Mukti Bahini or of India, but through the military offensive of the West Pakistan Government to overturn a democratic verdict.

Towards the Future

Whatever the further outcome of this conflict or future possibilities, the sovereign independence of Bangladesh rests firmly on the support of the people. The path will be difficult; even after the cessation of the immediate conflict, and the full recognition of independence, the path of development in the devastated territory, with the return of the millions of refugees to their destroyed homes, will be enough to daunt the most courageous. But they have shown already their courage and tenacity in the face of the most cruel obstacles. Whatever the varying political range and trends in the popular movement, their aspirations find common expression in the aim of the development in the direction of socialism. They will choose their own path. But when the time comes that a People's Republic of Bangladesh on a socialist basis is finally established, such an addition of a socialist community of 75 millions will be a glorious new partner, the third in the numerical range, in the world community of socialist nations.

R.P.D.

**FREE
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Bangladesh: A Case for Solidarity with the Liberation Struggle

K. Chandrakar

Bangladesh Solidarity Campaign,
21 Lindum Street, Manchester 14,
14 pp., 5p

A VALUABLE short summary of the conditions giving rise to the liberation struggle of the people of Bangladesh, and ending with the demands: 'National self-determination for Bangladesh; Solidarity with those fighting against Yahya's troops; Success to the Mukti Bahini; Victory to Bangladesh'.

New Year Greetings

**to all our readers and many friends
from the Editorial Board and Staff of Labour Monthly**

UNEMPLOYMENT—THE HUMAN SACRIFICE

Jack Bromley
National Organiser
AUEW (Engineering Section)

IT is surprising that, in this day and age, there are so many people who still regard 'unemployment' as a problem. In one way, it proves how difficult it is to remove mental cobwebs that have been accumulating over centuries. Unemployment has never been a problem! It is a symptom, or a sign, denoting that one or both of two sets of circumstances have come into being—either there has been faulty economic planning or, alternatively, political or industrial skullduggery.

When Pharaoh finished building the pyramids unemployment was no problem to him because the workpeople were expendable and of considerably less value than the odd chunks of granite that were lying about the site due to over-production. There was not even the problem of providing unemployment pay and a moment's thought will reveal that these same circumstances were pretty well in being until the time of the first world war or, as Robert W. Service puts it so succinctly—

Having done their desire for a daily hire
I can die like a dog in a ditch.

No! Our problem is not unemployment but rather whether we consider that conditions have changed all that much and how much risk there is, in the future, of certain vested interests restoring pre-1914 practice.

Basically, of course, a comparison between ancient and modern times will indicate that some change has taken place. In the time of the Druids, when a community was facing economic difficulty the problem was solved by human sacrifice. In order to propitiate the Unknown, certain unfortunate citizens were first wrapped in basketwork and then placed upon the bonfire. Whether this had any effect on the economic situation is not recorded. Today the offering of the sacrifice is manifested in the issue of redundancy notices which undoubtedly permit the individuals concerned to carry on living but at the grim expense of mental torture and the surrendering of any social status that they may have achieved during the fortunate times of employment. Do not dismiss this as wishful

thinking. I would refer you now to page 41 of the report published by the 'Cohen Committee' which was set in being to examine certain matters like prices and incomes:

In our opinion it is impossible that a free and flexible economic system can work efficiently without a perceptible (though emphatically not a catastrophic) margin of unemployment of this kind.

In other words, in 1958 this was a declaration of Conservative principle which demands that a section of the community must be sacrificed in order that the rest may continue to enjoy the privilege of being employed.

As we draw near to the end of 1971, we are being asked to accept the official figure for unemployment in Great Britain indicating that there are over 970,000 people out of work. This is the largest total for any month since the war years. Experience has taught us, however, that there are a vast number of people who do not immediately register with the DEP after losing their means of livelihood. Among these non-registered unemployed are a great number of women workers who have contracted out of the National Stamp and, therefore, have no incentive to attend the Exchange because they are not entitled to receive unemployment benefit. The overall picture, therefore, would indicate that the *real* total is now well over one million.

The criminal tragedy of the situation is that the present Government does not seem to be seriously perturbed save for face-saving gestures regarding this ever-increasing total. Are we to accept that they regard this staggering figure as being 'marginal' in terms of

LONDON REGION

NATIONAL GRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION

*Fraternal Greetings from
London's Craft Printers*

*W. T. Booroff, Secretary
75 Shoe Lane, E.C.4.*

the *Cohen Report*? If this is so, then how are we to interpret the use of the word 'catastrophic'?

Most of our elder citizens are already looking unhappily over their shoulders to memories of the early thirties when the ranks of the unemployed were allowed to grow to within a few thousand of the three million mark. Concurrently, some of them must remember also the time when the Exchequer could no longer pay out the pittance that was offered to unemployed workpeople and that the 'means test' forced workpeople to dispose of any articles of value that were in their possession before receiving any further benefit. And now the means test is once again a fact of life as more and more of the unemployed run out of insurance benefit and are subject to the administration of supplementary benefit.

Beyond any shadow of doubt, the thirties saw a time when the 'free and flexible' system of the Tories let them down, and in spite of their 'margin' of unemployment. How many more centuries will it need to teach these people the obvious fact that when unemployment reaches a certain stage it then feeds upon itself and develops to such a stage that it ceases to be a symptom of mismanagement and becomes a national disease. It is then that our skilled craftsmen have to face the possibility of unemployment stretching into years instead of weeks and to accept that, during that time, their fingers will have lost the touch and skill of their craftsmanship. Like their fathers before them, they will also have to accept the possibility that many will be afraid to face resumed employment because of their realisation that they have lost touch, speed and ability.

Recovery from such a situation is not merely a matter of turning an economic switch. Factories that have been allowed to run down and hide their obsolescent nature under a coating of dust and cobwebs are not so easy a proposition when it comes to getting them back into the productive process. This, too, is a feature which has been amply demonstrated prior to the years of the second world war, when it was discovered that we not only lacked modern equipment but there was a terrifying shortage of skilled personnel which led us directly into accepting the terms of the various Relaxation Agreements that came into being.

The Conservative machine exists to serve the needs of vested interests, and the history of its Governments is written upon the graph like the side elevation of the big dipper, giving a recognisable portrait of the alternatives of boom and slump. Such a system provides the necessary opportunity for capital to play its age-old

game of 'Jump in with the boom—out before the slump and Devil take the hindmost'. Against the evil of this kind of exploitation the workpeople have only one remedy, and every facet of this remedy is bound into the words 'united action'!

Organisation and militant action, therefore, are the only way to combat the march of the forces against self-interest. If every worker realised the strength at our disposal, that can only be mobilised with every individual playing his or her proper part, the Tories would never again be permitted to play 'ducks and drakes' with our welfare. Make up your minds, therefore, to set aside the trivialities of sectarianism and support the campaign conducted through your union, trades council and the TUC to compel effective action along the lines of the programme set out by the TUC for combating unemployment.

NERUDA

Kate Clark*

CHILE certainly is in the news these days. The wonderful news that Chile's national poet, Pablo Neruda, had been awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature has stirred the heart of every Chilean.

The general impression here in Chile is that the country is at last getting some attention from the 'developed' world, and some long overdue recognition of her talents and importance. With respect to the Nobel prize, I think that the general feeling here that Neruda would have won the prize years ago were it not for political reasons is completely justified. Anyway, the Chileans are not a people to hold rancour, and they have received the news of the prize with tremendous joy and pride—and when I say 'they' I'm referring to all Chileans, for there's no place for sectarianism where a poet of the status of Pablo Neruda is concerned.

I know that many critics in the 'West' choose to ignore or denigrate Neruda's 'political' poetry, just as they did Mayakovsky's, on the grounds that poetry shouldn't be mixed up with such a base thing as 'politics', much less with political propaganda. But the Chileans themselves don't make this false distinction: even those Chileans who

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are very far from agreeing with Neruda's political ideas appreciate and recognise his right to express himself and his philosophy in poetry, and in this way his so-called 'political' poetry is considered as an integral part of his work, as it should be in any sane society.

Neruda himself explains in one of the poems from his book, *Spain in one's Heart*, why he has felt inspired to write about themes not usually considered 'poetical' by those people who like to put everything in boxes each with a label—this is 'poetry', this is 'politics', this is 'philosophy', etc. In a poem called 'I'm explaining a few things', which tells about the fascist invasion of Spain, the bombing of Madrid (Neruda was in Madrid at that time, and therefore saw everything with his own eyes), he says:

And one morning everything was burning
One morning great fires
came up out of the earth
devouring people,
and from then on fire,
from then on gunpowder,
and from then on blood.
Bandits with planes and Moors,
bandits with finger-rings and duchesses,
bandits with black friars spattering blessings
came through the sky to kill children,
and through the streets the blood of the children
flowed along, as children's blood flows.

You will ask: why doesn't his poetry
tell us about dreams and leaves,
and the great volcanoes of his native land?

Come and see the blood along the streets.
come and see
the blood along the streets,
come and see the blood
along the streets!

It was the Spanish Civil War that helped Neruda, more than anything else, to become conscious of the world in which he lived, and to become conscious in such a way as to lead him to a personal commitment to play his part in the struggle to liberate mankind. Neruda joined the Chilean Communist Party in 1945, a fact which can only be seen as a logical development from his humanist commitment which dates from his adolescent years.

Neruda—Chilean, Latin American, universal poet of mankind. A poet who has sung about love, about his country, about war and

hunger, about work, and about the simple things of life, like an apple. The following extract is from a poem called 'Ode to the Apple':

When we bite into
your round innocence
we also become
for a moment
newly born creatures;
we still have something of apple
about us.

I want a complete abundance,
reproduction of your family,
I want a city,
a republic,
a Mississippi river of apples;
on its banks I want to see
all the people of the world,
united,
brought together
in the world's most simple act—
biting an apple.

Although universally acclaimed and recognised, Neruda never forgot his own humble origin (he was the son of a railwayman), his commitment to the ordinary people of his country and his continent. During the period of repression under the González Videla Government, in which the Chilean Communist Party and other progressive organisations were outlawed, Neruda, who was a Senator in the Chilean Congress (Parliament) at the outset of the repression period, used all his poet's eloquence to denounce the anti-popular Govern-

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Pablo Neruda

Portrait (1964) by the Chilean artist and muralist Julio Escámaz on the occasion of the poet's sixtieth birthday

ment of Videla, the Radical who turned traitor to the very masses who had put him into power (the Communist Party was one of the prime forces in the electoral campaign of 1946 which resulted in the election of Videla); in 1948 Senator Neruda made a now famous speech in the Senate, entitled 'I accuse', in which he laid bare the treachery of the Videla regime, and accused the Government of trampling on the old-established principles of liberty and democracy which were born with the struggle for independence from Spain in the first part of the nineteenth century.

In this same year, 1948, Neruda had to go underground, to avoid being taken prisoner by the police, who had issued a warrant for his arrest, and posted up photographs of Neruda as a wanted person, just as if he were any common criminal. After spending some time being moved from house to house, taking refuge in all sorts of homes, from the most opulent to the most humble peasant's shack, Neruda finally managed to cross the Andes mountain range (disguised as a 'huaso'—farmer in traditional costume, on horseback) and into Argentina.

During the long years of forced exile, Neruda continued writing and taking part in whatever way he could in the struggle to bring down the González Videla Government. Finally, at the end of the repression period, Neruda returned to his beloved Chile in August

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1952, and immediately threw himself to work in the campaign for the presidency, where Salvador Allende was standing as candidate for the left, composed in those days of the Communist Party and a fraction of the socialist party. It was the first time that Allende stood for the presidency: later he was to stand again in 1958, in 1964, and finally in 1970, when he was brought to victory by the widest unity known hitherto in Chile, resulting in the present Popular Unity Government.

Neruda is essentially a Chilean, a poet who has drawn his inspiration from the common people of Chile, and from the oldest organised party of his people, the Communist Party, which was formed in 1922 out of an older organisation called the Socialist Workers' Party which had been formed in 1912 in the desert north of Chile, in the 'pampa', where the nitrate deposits are to be found. The founder of the Chilean Communist Party was Luis Emilio Recabarren, who is widely recognised here in Chile as the 'father' of the whole workers' and people's movement in Chile, as we can see reflected in this poem of Neruda's:

Father of Chile

Recabarren, son of Chile,
father of Chile, our father,
in your structure, in your lines
forged in earth and torments
the strength of the victorious days to come
is born.

You are the mother land, the pampa and the people,
the sand, clay, school, house,
resurrection, fist, offensive,
order, march, attack, wheat,
struggle, greatness, resistance.

Recabarren, beneath your glance
we swear to clean the wounded
mutilations of our native land.

We swear that liberty
shall raise her naked flower
upon the shamed sand.
We swear to follow your path
until the people's victory.

Of course, in a short article like this, one cannot possibly give an idea of the breadth and extraordinary richness of Neruda's poetical work. Firstly, because his work is very extensive, and secondly, because no translation, no matter how good, can possibly do justice

to the musicality of the original. But to get some idea of the very varied nature of his work, look at this excerpt from his Twentieth Love Poem; notice the simple imagery, and the beautiful expression of the most universal human feelings:

Tonight I can write the saddest verses.

Write, for example: 'The night is starry,
and the stars, blue, shiver in the distance.'

The night wind revolves in the sky and sings.

Tonight I can write the saddest verses.
I loved her, and at times she loved me too.

.

The same night that whitens the same trees.
We, of that time, are no longer the same.

I no longer love her, it's true, but how I loved her,
My voice sought the wind to touch her ear.

.

I no longer love her, it's true, but perhaps I love her.
Love is so short, and so long the forgetting.

Because on nights like this I held her in my arms,
my soul is not content with having lost her.

Although this be the last grief she causes me,
and these be the last verses I write her.

After the triumph of the Popular Unity Government and President Allende, Neruda was designated Ambassador to Chile in Paris. There is no doubt that the presence there of such an illustrious figure in the field of culture and the arts will help to forge closer ties between France and Chile, at all levels, and between other countries of Western Europe and Chile. The recent visit to Chile of the First Secretary of the French Socialist Party, Francois Mitterand, and earlier in 1971 of the English novelist Graham Greene, are just two examples of the sort of exchange that Chile wishes to maintain and extend with other countries of the world.

Neruda received the Nobel Prize personally in Stockholm in December, after which he will come to Chile for the New Year. He can be sure of a multitudinous welcome in Chile, from a people more conscious than ever of Pablo Neruda's greatness as a poet, and as a man who through thick and thin has remained committed to the noblest of causes—the liberation of his people and of all mankind.

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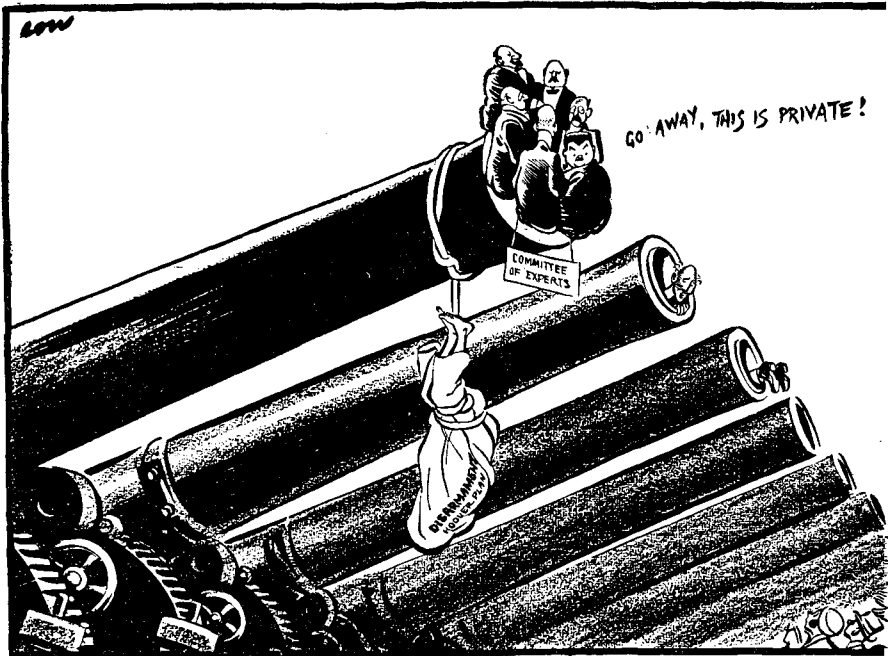
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June 27, 1932: Cartoon by David Low by arrangement with the Trustees and the *Evening Star*

This year sees the fortieth anniversary (February-July 1932) of the first international Disarmament Conference at Geneva—and the beginning of the struggle for the holding of a World Disarmament Conference, proposed by Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko on September 6, 1971. It is no chance coincidence. At the 1932 Conference the situation, except in one important respect, was well summed up by the great Australian cartoonist David Low. The essential he omitted was that the Soviet Union (which had for years been pressing for the holding of this Conference, as promised by the Versailles Peace Treaty in 1919) now put forward a scheme for a fifty per cent arms cut all round, with abolition of specific weapons possessed almost exclusively by the imperialist powers—tanks and long-range guns, warships over 10,000 tons and aircraft carriers, heavy bombing planes and bomb stocks, etc. The scheme was pooh-poohed by the big powers, and consequently the Conference was

DISARMAMENT SITUATION

by Low

'At long last the Disarmament Conference began. USA suggested that if European nations disarmed they would be better able to pay their debts. European nations replied that if they did not have to extract the debts from each other they might be better able to disarm . . . Britain (which had a navy) objected to cutting down navies, but didn't mind cutting down armies. France (which had an army) objected to cutting down armies, but didn't mind cutting down navies. . . . Proposals for government control of arms production were defeated. . . . Britain produced a plan for disarmament in stages after four years, Germany meanwhile remaining disarmed.'

(From *Europe Since Versailles* by Low, Penguin, 1940)

soon in the state of deadlock described by Low. Then in June, trying to liven it up, US President Hoover sent a much-praised message suggesting they might consider a one-third cut in arms. Litvinov, the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, took this up: and when the imperialist powers privately concocted an empty resolution, full of pious platitudes about the need to disarm but without any practical decision, Litvinov moved an amendment embodying the Hoover plan. The big powers were horrified, and got the amendment voted down by 30-5, with 16 abstentions (chiefly by weaker states which sympathised with Litvinov, but didn't dare to oppose Britain, France and the United States). The Americans voted against their own proposals! And when the original motion was put to the vote by roll-call, Litvinov answered: 'For disarmament, against the resolution!' Will the peoples allow history to repeat itself?

Andrew Rothstein



AGRICULTURE AND THE COMMON MARKET

Jack Dunman

AGRICULTURE has been one of the main items in the negotiations for British entry into the European Economic Community (EEC): we are asked to give up our present system and adopt the very different arrangements of the 'Common Agricultural Policy' (CAP).

In several respects our farming is very different from that of the present EEC countries. Firstly only 2.6 per cent of our working population is engaged in agriculture, and half of our food is imported. This was the result of Britain's early manufacturing and commercial hegemony. Secondly, for 150 years or so, our agriculture has been a capitalist industry. The majority of people engaged in it being wage-workers, proletarians, with nothing to sell but their labour power.

TABLE 1*

	1960-62	1970
Workers, male, female, full- and part-time	663,000	430,000
Farmers	272,000	240,000

This was the result of the enclosure movements of the sixteenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the land was in effect taken away from the peasantry and given to the landlords and large farmers. Thirdly as a result of these differences the average size of farm is large compared with other West European countries, a necessary condition for the wage-relationship to operate. The distribution of size of farms in 1966 was as follows†:

TABLE II

Acres	Less than 5	5- 20	20- 50	50- 100	100- 300	300- 500	500- 1000	Over 1000	Total
Number of farms (thousands)	64	70	53	52	58	10	4	0.9	312

And of the 240,000 farmers, some 140,000 are employers of labour. Many even of the family farms are large enough to be significantly mechanised. Of the farmers, slightly more than 50 per cent own their

* *Annual Review White Paper*, 1971, p. 33.

† *A Century of Agricultural Statistics 1866-1966*, p. 19.

own farms and land, and the rest are tenants paying rent. The proportion of owners is rising. Thus, unlike the countries of the EEC, the main problem of agriculture is not the multiplicity of tiny farms, and the need to get a significant number of farmers out of the industry altogether. This is the main preoccupation of the European agriculturalists, and the main aim of the CAP. True enough, the average size of our farms does need to be increased, and early retirement and other measures are encouraged on condition that the farm is amalgamated into a viable unit. This encouragement should be increased; but the problem is of a different order from that in the Six, especially France.

Our agriculture is, in fact, much more efficient than that of the Six, excepting Belgium and Holland. Crop and livestock yields are among the highest in the world, both per hectare and per person employed. The result is that the 2.6 per cent of the population in agriculture supply half of all the food consumed, two-thirds if tropical and semi-tropical products are excluded. Mechanisation is very high.

According to the National Farmers' Union, the ratio of the percentage of gross national product attributable to agriculture to the percentage of the labour force employed in it is 103, suggesting that agriculture, in spite of accusations of inefficiency, produces slightly more than its share of the national product. According to the NFU, the roughly comparable figure for France is 40, West Germany 38, Belgium 102 and the US 63. In productivity also the record is good compared with industry:

TABLE III

	Productivity of British Agriculture Compared with Economy as a Whole	
	Percentage increase per year	
	Agriculture	Whole economy
1958-63	6.5	2.5
1963-65	7.0	2.7

The net product increased ten per cent from 1965/66 to 1970/71 (forecast). Britain's industrial and commercial development requires a 'cheap food' policy to ease pressure on wages, and the relatively efficient performance of British farming has facilitated this. The basis, from the second world war onwards, was that food was retailed at the relatively low prices appropriate to imports, which fluctuated round 50 per cent of total consumption. The difference between these prices and those necessary to cover the higher costs of home production were made up to the farmers in government subsidies of one kind or another, the whole system being formalised in the Agricultural Act of 1947.

This contrasts with the CAP under which the prices at which imports are retailed are raised to a level sufficient to cover the costs of home production by means of tariffs. For Britain, entry into the EEC means abandoning the one system and adopting the other. This is the reason for the inevitable rise in the cost of food, for which there are estimates up to 25 per cent. Moreover, our system had the great advantage that the money for subsidies was derived from taxation; and taxes *can* be laid on the rich. High food prices are inevitably borne by the poor. The cornerstone of the 1947 Act was the price review system. In brief, this meant that each March the Government had a long discussion with the farmers and fixed guaranteed minimum prices for specified maximum quantities of the principal crops and livestock products, one-and-a-half years ahead for crops and four years for livestock. If the prices were not reached on the market, they were made up by the Government out of taxation. This was made permanent in 1947 but subsequently modified. It was these 'guarantees', in which were included a large number of 'production grants' (e.g. for fertilisers), which provided the necessary subsidies to cover the producer's costs and provide his profits.

Although it had grave defects, in that it 'controlled' the profits of the farmers without in any way affecting those of the big monopolies,

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L. W. Buck - - - **General Secretary**

and in that it gave as much or more money to the wealthy and prosperous farmers who did not need it as to those who did, the system worked reasonably well. It not only gave the farmers security, so that they could plan their production with confidence, but it gave the Government a powerful weapon for influencing production, in needed directions, by varying the guaranteed prices and maximum quantities.

There are also a number of 'marketing boards', the most important and successful being for milk, but also for potatoes, wool and hops. These institutions also have been of enormous value to farmers, but now there is complete confusion in Britain about the future of the boards inside the EEC. Some hold that they conflict with the Treaty of Rome and the CAP, being producers' monopolies. On the other hand, we are assured from 'Europe' that no one observes the rules anyhow; and our own Government says that they will be able to carry out their 'essential functions'. This is suspicious: the Government does not and will not say they will continue as at present. No one knows, but in the opinion of the writer, sooner or later, if we enter the EEC, the boards, including the Milk Marketing Board, will be forced to become voluntary. If this happens, it is as good as certain they will pass into oblivion, or at best relative impotence. Thus the price which the British people and British agriculture is being made to pay for British entry, is the complete destruction of a useful agricultural system, *plus* the end of 'cheap food'.

But this is not all. Britain, as the largest food importing country, will collect a great deal of money from the tariffs it will have to lay on imports from outside the Six. But this money will not stay here. Ninety per cent of it plus part of the proceeds of Value Added Tax (this could be about £400 million; and the EEC commission visualises Britain providing 25 per cent of their total receipts!) will have to be sent to an EEC pool, thus adding its own weight to our balance of payments problem, and it will there be used in 'buying out' the surplus peasants which, as we have seen, it is the aim of CAP to get rid of especially in France: they call it 'restructuring their agriculture'. In other words we shall be spending millions of pounds in making our main competitors more efficient.

No wonder the National Union of Agricultural and Allied Workers was one of the first unions to express 100 per cent opposition to British entry. The great majority of farmers are against it too; but they have been badly let down by the leaders of the NFU who started with fearsome 'conditions' for entry (including the EEC taking over the whole of our guaranteed price system *holus-bolus*!),

and gave them up one by one, until they reached the bottom of the slippery slope with none at all.

Nevertheless, agriculture remains one of the most powerful reasons against British entry: and those concerned with it, workers, farmers or technicians, can be and should be a powerful force in the continuing struggle to keep Britain out.

NEW TENSIONS IN INDIA

S. G. Sardesai*

THERE is no denying that emotionally, politically and economically the upheaval in Bangladesh which followed within a fortnight of our parliamentary elections in March (reviewed *LM*, May 1971) has cast its shadow over all developments in India during the last eight months. Nothing has moved the entire country since independence as has the colossal suffering and monumental heroism of the people of East Bengal in this period.

For a time it appeared as though all internal problems would be sidetracked by the impact of the Bangladesh struggle. However, because of the profoundly anti-imperialist and national liberation character of the issue, what actually happened was that our internal problems got interlocked with the freedom struggle of our neighbours. After the parliamentary elections, as before, the crux of Indian developments continues to be the growing offensive of the popular forces against reaction, internal and foreign.

The new element in the situation is that, because of the unabashed support of the US rulers to the military junta of Pakistan which, in addition to genocidal terror in East Bengal, has been constantly threatening war against India, contrasted with the Soviet support to India and Bangladesh expressed eloquently in the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation, the people have now a far clearer understanding of who is their friend and who the enemy abroad.

More. The reactionary parties of the Grand Alliance (as also the monopoly press), whom the people routed in the mid-term poll as

* S. G. Sardesai is a member of the Central Executive Committee and a secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India; this article was written by him before the development of the full-scale war between India and Pakistan, with its far-reaching effects for the future of Bangladesh, which are dealt with in the Editorial 'Notes of the Month'.

their worst enemies, are precisely the internal forces which have launched an attack on the Indo-Soviet Treaty ('India has become a satellite') and are turning and twisting in a hundred ways to make out that the solution of Bangladesh is to be found in Washington ('It has leverage in Islamabad'), and not by drawing closer to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It is no exaggeration to state that our people have seen the liaison between Indian monopoly capital and imperialism far more clearly in this period than ever before. Similarly, pro-Soviet feeling has broadened and risen to a height never experienced till now. It is thus that the internal social conflict between progress and reaction has developed an international relationship and dimension.

After its sweeping victory at the polls, the Government of the ruling Congress led by Indira Gandhi, as expected by our Party, has pursued certain sensible and reasonable policies, and also adopted certain very objectionable anti-people measures. It has refused to fall a prey to the military provocations of Pakistan and its threats of war. It has borne the burden of the flood of refugees pouring into India from Bangladesh, whose number has now reached ten million and whose maintenance cost will come to 525 crore rupees (1 crore = 10 million) by the end of December. It has stood up to the blackmail of the US on the Bangladesh question. It signed the historic Indo-Soviet Treaty, whose long-range economic implications are no less valuable than the immediate question of India's security. But material aid to the liberation forces of Bangladesh (the Mukti Bahini) can and must be given on a far bigger scale, for which the recognition of the Bangladesh government has become very urgent.

The Government has also proposed two amendments to the Indian Constitution which would enable Parliament to nationalise monopoly property and put a ceiling on land holdings on the payment of much less compensation than has to be given at present. Naturally these amendments have secured a very broad support.

On the other hand, the fiscal and monetary measures adopted by the Government to meet the new emergency are most highly objectionable and are leading to an explosive situation. The new budget adopted by Parliament in May provided for an increase in a number of indirect taxes which were already unbearably high. And now, in the name of refugee relief, still further levies have been imposed, by ordinance, on newspapers, railway fares, postal envelopes and cards. The state governments are vying with the central government by raising the sales tax and other impositions, all to be shouldered by the common people. Never since independence has money supply

increased at the rate recorded in recent months. Bank credit to the private sector (euphemism for monopoly industrialists, traders, hoarders and speculators) has increased by 600 crore rupees. Between April and October alone bank credit to the central and state governments has also gone up by 600 crore rupees. The management and policies of the nationalised banks remain virtually unchanged.

Such galloping inflation, added to the new taxes, has resulted in a most alarming spiralling of prices and rampant hoarding and black marketing in essential commodities. The index for consumer goods prices rose by ten points between May and August, and retail prices are still shooting up every passing week.

Meanwhile the industrialists have been declaring closures and sabotaging production in coal, textiles, engineering and a number of other industries to reap still higher profits by creating artificial scarcity. Recently the government came out with an ordinance to take over 'sick' mills and factories (meaning concerns ruined by the owners' swindling and embezzlement) but amazingly enough the take-over is to be accompanied by the suspension of all working class legislation providing for minimum wages, dearness allowance, security of employment, etc. In simple words this means massive

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A strike wave in various industries is already on (e.g. the recent general strike of the textile workers in Bombay) to compel the Government to place the economic burdens arising from the emergency on the shoulders of the private corporate sector and big landlords and to protect the trade union rights and real wages of the workers. Naturally, in the new situation, mass struggles are related to the burning task of strengthening popular unity and morale to face the war danger which can materialise any moment. The slogan is, guard the rear, not only the front. A welcome development is that national trade union centres under the influence of different political parties are coming together for the formulation of common demands and mass campaigns and, in places, for common action.

It is in this extremely complex, contradictory and fast changing situation that the ninth congress of the Communist Party of India met at Cochin, in Kerala, between October 3 and 10. The congress was a unique success and undoubtedly a landmark in the development of the Party. Between the eighth and the ninth congresses Party membership grew from 172,902 to 243,238. Out of a total number of 995 delegates at the ninth congress 446 were industrial and agricultural workers, poor and middle peasants. Fraternal delegations from 22 brother parties attended the congress and in their warm and cordial greetings expressed deep appreciation of our political line and mass activity. The Kerala unit of the Party organised a mammoth march of 40,000 red volunteers to greet the congress. The public rally held on the concluding day had an attendance of over 300,000 and was judged even by bourgeois papers as the biggest mass mobilisation witnessed by Kerala in recent history. All the resolutions of the congress, after a thorough discussion in commissions, were adopted unanimously.

During the three years since our last congress our Party has gained a very great amount of new experience in leading militant mass struggles of the working class and the rural poor, and relating them to the political task of building a broader national democratic front. Rich experience has been gained in combining the difficult role of being in government and simultaneously organising mass struggles as in Bihar, Bengal and Kerala. Members have far better experience of fighting the ideological positions and disruptive tactics of the Communist Party (Marxist) while drawing the mass under its influence in common struggles. Work in Parliament has improved including the not so easy task of supporting the progressive policies of the Congress leadership while firmly opposing all measures of an

anti-people, negative character. All this was reflected in the maturity and confidence of the decisions taken at Cochin.

The political resolution of the congress brings out the radical change in the national situation that has taken place since our preceding congress. The mass swing to the left, the split in the Government party, the results of the parliamentary elections, the Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty are all so many expressions of the offensive of the right having been replaced by the counter-offensive of the popular forces. The contradictions between the national bourgeoisie and imperialism have sharpened, together with the conflict between the monopoly and non-monopoly sections of the bourgeoisie. The prospect for building a national democratic front and of fighting for a government of left and democratic unity, which is our central perspective for the period, is more favourable than at any time in the post-independence period.

The resolution highlights that the massive majority of the Congress in Parliament is not going to bring about stability for bourgeois rule or the capitalist path of development. Sharp contradictions and conflicts lie ahead which are and will be reflected within the ruling Congress itself. Against this background, the resolution gives a ringing call for the organisation of powerful mass struggles, for the strengthening of the unity of the left and democratic forces outside and inside the Congress, for a consistent struggle against revisionist illusions as also the disruptive and adventurist policies of the 'ultra left', and for strengthening the independent role of the Party ideologically and in every sphere of political activity.

The organisational resolution adopted by the congress brings out that the expansion of the Party is not keeping pace with the growth in its mass influence. It pinpoints the looseness and inefficient functioning of the Party in various respects and calls for greater militancy, discipline and ideological purity at all levels of the Party organisation.

At the moment of writing (November 22, 1971) the situation in the country is full of tension and a feeling of unpredictability as to what is in the offing on the borders between India and Pakistan. Armed skirmishes on the border are growing. The Prime Minister's tour abroad has put the rulers of the Western powers on the defensive, made them realise that Bangladesh has come to stay, that no power can suppress it, and that there is no solution of the refugee problem and of the danger of an Indo-Pak war without a political settlement with the elected leaders of Bangladesh based on the recognition of its right to freedom. But this has made no change in the basic sympathy

and support of the US, Britain and West Germany for the Pakistan regime. No one in India wants to take the issue to the United Nations, because the fundamental conflict is not between India and Pakistan but between Yahya Khan and the people of East Bengal, and also because of India's bitter experience of having taken the Kashmir issue to the UN. But with so many contending national and international forces operating on the question what will happen is very difficult to say.

The only certainty is that we are in for a period of very big, sudden and sharp changes in which our internal and foreign problems will be inextricably intertwined. Our strength lies in the fact that never before have the reactionary forces in India been so isolated, never before has the multi-sided pressure of popular forces risen to the level we are witnessing now.

WOMEN'S STRUGGLE TODAY

Vi Gill*

AT the recent thirty-second congress of the Communist Party of Britain a resolution on Women in Society was presented and overwhelmingly carried. The Communist Party has always stood and fought for the equality of women. But the resolution put before the Party its responsibility for further developing and co-ordinating its work in this field.

In this country as in other capitalist countries women are emerging as a vital part of the forces to change society. This is borne out by the many levels of struggle that they have been involved in during the very sharp class struggle of the recent two or three years.

It is also significant of the times we live in that various groups and organisations have sprung up, through which women are expressing their demands for equality in all spheres of life. The most publicised of these has been the movement known as Women's Lib, though this does not mean, as the mass media would have us believe, that they are therefore 'the leading front of women in Britain today'.

One cannot seriously carry the banner for the liberation of women without looking closely at the inequality of the class society we live in. I am not suggesting that there is no deep rooted feeling

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of inferiority amongst women themselves; indeed there is, and it has been deliberately fostered by the ruling class as a supreme tactic to divide and rule. The anger that we feel therefore must not be against men but against the system that creates this.

It seems clear to me that as the class struggle becomes more acute and advances are made it must surely follow, arising from a woman's participation in direct struggle, that her level of understanding and awareness is lifted. Horizons are broadened, both politically and socially, and the voice of protest that is heard is not just against the oppression of her sex, but the oppression of her class.

The numbers of women who join the fight for peace, the tenants' movement, for lower prices, school milk and meals, are in fact in the front line of the Tory attacks, and can be won to bring this Government down. The need to get away from illogical divisive arguments is essential. The necessity for advance has got to be a united movement of both men and women.

There are nine million women workers in this country, and a paramount issue on the immediate front must be equal pay. The organised trade union movement must be brought into the struggle around this question. It is true that some women have attained equal pay. But this is mostly in the servicing and supply industries where the wage structures are at the lowest end of the scale.

The gap still remains in vast areas of industries that employ millions of women and extort high profit from their skills and labour, and the breakthrough has yet to come. A broad campaign within the labour and trade union movement is needed. It will not arise through legislation. The whole working class must be brought into direct action, if necessary, for I am firmly convinced that it is at the point of production where it will be won. And there can be no equality without economic equality. This will be the key that will open many doors of opportunity for training, education and other needs. The understanding of the struggle is necessary, as is the need to involve women in greater number in activity taken with a clear political consciousness. Women's Lib can play a role within or together with the labour movement on all these issues, alongside the fight for the necessary changes of social organisation and provision to make possible the advance of women to greater freedom from the many burdens which tie them down and hinder their equal participation in the life of society.

It is only with the achievement of socialism that true equality will begin to be fully realised.

THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

Professor E. H. S. Burhop

ON January 17, 1961, President Eisenhower appeared on American television to deliver his farewell address to the nation at the end of his eight-year term of office. The early part of the address contained nothing notable—just the usual platitudes his listeners had come to expect from a man who, as President, had never quite achieved the stature of the General who led the armies of the western allies into Europe. But suddenly listeners were astounded to hear him uttering a grave warning about a new threat to American democracy that had developed during his term of office. ‘In the councils of Government we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, of the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.’ The military-industrial complex was developing an influence ‘felt in every city, every state house, every office of the Federal Government.’

During the ten years since Eisenhower’s warning, the power of the complex has grown to alarming proportions and its influence extends to every facet of American life. An important book by Sidney Lens* describes, in a masterly fashion with the aid of many quotations and references, how the complex developed, the elements of which it is composed, the way it operates, and argues convincingly that it has to be dismantled if peace is to be secure.

The close ties between the military establishment and industry came into being during the second world war as part of the arrangements for the development and production of sophisticated new weapons. The large industrial firms were brought in under terms very favourable to them by means of developmental contracts under which all their costs were underwritten by the Government and a very adequate rate of profit guaranteed. This arrangement may have been useful in ensuring the necessary R & D was carried out during the war but it has been continued since the war, on a scale augmented every time a new scare about Russian weapon development blew up—scares which, in practically every case, were either initiated or blown up by interests that stood to profit greatly by each intensification of the arms race. Gradually a situation has developed in which

* *The Military-Industrial Complex*, Sidney Lens. Stanmore Press, 184 pp., £1.50.

a major part of the activities of many of the greatest industrial undertakings in the US, bearing such well-known names as Lockheed, Boeing, Douglas, General Dynamics, General Electric, Westinghouse, Dow Chemicals and so on, comes from defence contracts. Thousands of senior retired officers are brought on to the pay rolls of the industrial giants.

The nation is being taken for a ride. Money is poured into wasteful and unnecessary projects. Costs rocket to four or five times the original estimate on which a contract was given. The military-industrial complex has the strongest vested interest in maintaining the arms race, in allowing situations of confrontation to develop, in frustrating any real progress toward disarmament. At the same time it disposes enormous sums of money—taxpayers' money which it uses in the most brazen manner to manipulate public opinion.

But many others, apart from the military establishments and the big industrialists, are caught up in the military-industrial complex, live off it and, in the end, identify their interests with it. Many American academics are deeply involved. It may be a difficult decision for a university physics professor, for instance, who is offered a new laboratory provided he will allow part of the research programme of the laboratory to be oriented along lines suggested by the army. Lucrative consultancies are offered so that the salary of a professor ready to co-operate may be several times that of his colleagues who will not prostitute their talents in this way. To their shame many US university laboratories have fulfilled a key role in the development of defoliants, or fire, gas and anti-personnel bombs for the war in Vietnam. Leading universities like Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Johns Hopkins, Stanford would be cut down drastically in size and prestige if their grants from military sources were withdrawn. For MIT, for example, in 1967-68 its budget was £70 million, of which £50 million came directly from defence sources. As Clark Kerr, the former President of the University of California before he was ousted by Governor Ronald Reagan, put it 'intellect has also become an instrument of national purpose, a component part of the military-industrial complex.'

Of particular interest to readers of *Labour Monthly* will be the account given of the way leaders of the AFL-CIO, and many individual trade union leaders, have been caught up in the complex. Their role has been to help the military-industrial complex in manipulating working class opinion in support of a stance of hard-line anti-communism. It has been particularly active in this direction abroad, working in the closest collaboration with the CIA, by whom

it has been lavishly supplied with funds. This is done through the setting-up of international projects by leaders of the AFL-CIO. The 13.6 million members who belong to the unions affiliated to AFL-CIO have no say in these international activities of their leaders and are kept in ignorance of them.

One of the biggest successes achieved by the trade union arm of the military-industrial complex was the bringing down of the elected Jagan Government of British Guiana by promoting a general strike using CIA funds. But they work quite commonly in many countries by splitting unions with whose progressive line they disagree. They train cadres on a large scale for this purpose in special schools, well supported by money supplied by the CIA. Brazilian cadres from such schools are said to have helped the Generals destroy the elected Government of President Goulart in 1965 and set up one of the most reactionary military dictatorships in the world. Everywhere the role of the union and of the military-industrial complex is to support US foreign policy. It is said that cadres trained in AFL-CIO schools provide a fruitful source for recruitment as CIA agents to work in their own countries.

The military-industrial complex poses a threat not only to the interests and progress of the American people but to the prospects of lasting world peace. Fortunately the US people are becoming increasingly aware of the danger and are challenging the activities of the Pentagon. This book will supply them with ample ammunition to help them in their task.

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Mineworkers**

Derbyshire area

extends greetings to all
Trade Unionists in Great
Britain and throughout
the world and wishes them
peace and prosperity

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Edinburgh, EH7 5DZ**

The Scottish miners send
New Year greetings to all
people struggling for peace
and socialism

Michael McGahey, President
David Bolton,
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***New Year
Greetings to
Fellow Trade
Unionists***



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to all socialists and trade
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For socialism, peace and
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TRIBUNE

**24 St. John Street
London, E.C.1**

BOOKS

A Critique of Linguistic Philosophy
C. W. K. Mundle

Oxford University Press, 292 pp.,
£2.50

THE POST-WAR years have seen a strange decline of philosophical thinking into a new scholasticism, remote from affairs, obscure to the last degree. The historian of this strange aberration confesses that 'questions of belief, questions of a moral, political or generally cosmic variety,' are no longer discussed. 'Philosophy has nothing to do with questions of that kind.' (Warnock, *English Philosophy Since 1900*). Its interest has turned entirely to linguistic problems, to the various 'usages' of language: sometimes 'descriptive', sometimes 'persuasive' or 'emotive', sometimes 'commanding', and so forth. So that what were formerly thought to be philosophical questions are now held to be due to getting into a muddle about our language games—like applying the rules of football to chess, or of 'description' to expressing 'moral approval': description uses statements about facts; statements as to right and wrong are about our emotions, 'and never the twain shall meet.' The main concern of philosophy for the past thirty years has been about 'the bewitchment of mind by language'—its task therapeutic, to 'show the fly the way out of the fly bottle'—to cure a certain 'cramp' in the mind!

Now beneath the daunting obscurity of linguistic philosophy there is a valuable core of truth, particularly where it rejects as meaningless even questions about the universe and its significance, or the hidden purpose realising itself irresistibly in the march of history, let alone the meta-physical solutions of such problems. But truth is tangled up with subjectivism, obscurantism and a wilful turning away from real problems.

Why are the linguistic philosophers completely silent on the torrent of delusion and muddled thinking that confuses the modern mind? Clearly the calm assumption of ineffable superiority of linguistic metaphysics is in need of a ruthless but discerning criticism. Suppose after all the Emperor has no clothes?

Very few serious attempts at a constructive critique have yet appeared. Apart from Cornforth's *Marxism and the Linguistic Philosophy*, there has been only Ernest Gellner's *Words and Things*. It is typical of the lofty arrogance of the philosophical establishment that Professor Ryle refused to review this book in *Mind*. However, Russell's indignant protest in the *Times* secured for it well deserved publicity. That was in 1959, a long time ago. It is therefore a matter of great satisfaction that a full-length criticism of the new philosophy has appeared from the pen of Professor Mundle of the University College of North Wales. He has dealt exhaustively and fairly with all the chief exponents of linguistic thinking, not only Wittgenstein, but also Ryle, Strawson, Ayer and Austin. What is so gratifying is the careful and relentless logic with which Mundle reveals the self-contradiction, the confusion and the sheer illogicality of philosophers of intimidating eminence in the minds of most readers.

This is a difficult book, but not an obscure one. It could clear the way for an exposure of the scholastic pretensions of the new philosophy which 'he who runs may read'; and which might also do what Mundle has not really attempted—extract the kernel of truth in the linguistic assault on metaphysics without falling into the conventionalism of 'language games', which 'leave everything as it is', or the shallow acceptance of the bare facts of observation, unable to establish any general law or theory, so that we can learn nothing about the structure and nature of the world.

And a real critique will not only

reject the approach to ethics which grounds values in personal choice, but will relate them to reasoned examination of the facts and basic human needs.

Above all we must be persuaded to see philosophy not as a purely intellectual pursuit, but something the philosopher himself lives by. We cannot but feel that there is something seriously wrong with a philosophy for the seventies that takes no notice of war, revolution, racialism, or anything else destructive of the life of our time to concern itself solely with the intricacies of grammatical expression and the niceties of 'language games'.

JOHN LEWIS

Education and Modernisation

M. D. Shipman

Faber & Faber, 276 pp., £4

MARX WROTE, about Feuerbach's materialism, that the materialist doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing, and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that it is men who change circumstances and that it is essential to educate the educator himself.

Unlike Feuerbach, Dr Shipman is an educator of educators, and does not forget it is men who change circumstances. In this book he sets out to describe the nature of modernisation and the nature of education, and how they were related in practice. He next describes the nature of education in preliterate societies leading into the main part of his work, the comparison of social change in relation to education in Britain from 1780-1851, and in Japan from 1867-1941. In both cases he brings the story up to date, and ends with some general conclusions. His general argument is that, despite very great differences in actual practice, the education

system has always been part of a system of social control, itself controlled by what he calls a ruling élite.

'Concentrating on social control means undervaluing the role of education in teaching intellectual and technical skills, and means that the regulation of behaviour has been considered rather than its actual learning. Nevertheless, the main role of the schools has been to maintain not only social order, but a disciplined work force under changed circumstances' (p. 265).

This thesis is developed convincingly with a wealth of documentation and argument. Thus, although the British ruling class fought against educational reform and the Japanese ruling class enthusiastically pressed it, the aim and the consequence was the same. It was merely that the historical situations required different tactics.

'This meant that different groups had to be given different educations, so that some would remain confident in their superiority and others reconciled to subordination. Thus the rules relating to private property taught . . . in England were consolidating the poverty of the poor as well as safeguarding the property of the rich. Similarly, the imperialist indoctrination in Japanese schools in the 1930s was designed to ensure that a majority would accept that it was right for a few to lead them in the attempt to conquer Asia' (pp. 264-5).

Dr Shipman does not much emphasise the dialectic that capitalism educated the poor not only to serve but also eventually to study, to understand and to rebel. Nevertheless, get it into the hands of your friends who think either that education was given to us as an act of kindness or that educational reform on its own can change society fundamentally.

RONALD FRANKENBERG

Scientific Knowledge and its Social Problems

J. R. Ravetz

Clarendon Press, 450 pp., £5

WHILE MANY PEOPLE must have been grieved by the recent death of J. D. Bernal, it is heartening that one of his major areas of study—that of outlining the complex relations between science and society—is being taken up by other researchers to an equal level of sophistication. One such person is Dr J. Ravetz who in this recent book comprehensively covers the present state of scientific organisation and research in advanced technological countries, and the social and ethical problems this raises for individual scientists and for society as a whole.

Ravetz's major thesis is that scientific activity does not lead to the establishment of an ultimate truth nor automatically to social progress. Indeed it is the social system that determines not only the emphasis and priorities of science but also, to some extent, the dominant theories and generally accepted 'facts' of a science. Within the confines of present society it will thus primarily be the demands of industry and the military that determine what the content matter of science will be and this, of course, need not be harmonious with social progress.

Ravetz's answer to this, and his major novel contribution, is the concept of 'critical science'. He visualises scientists being specifically employed to investigate the effects of current scientific research and where these are found to be detrimental to society, scientists will arouse public concern. Such research is taking place at present on a very small scale and no doubt will continue with escalating technology and the social problems this throws up. However Ravetz sees the major opponents to 'critical science' as individual firms and bureaucratic government departments. Such opposition, with time and effort, he believes, can be overcome, despite the limitations in a

society based on profit. Although there is much to be accomplished, even under capitalism, Ravetz is, I think, somewhat optimistic in believing that the complete development of a 'critical science' can take place without changing the social basis of society.

Despite this weakness and the rather technical nature of some chapters, the book is highly recommendable as an informative account of the present workings of science and as opening up important questions for the consideration of scientists.

DAVE FORMAN

The Origins of Polish Socialism

Lucjan Blit

Cambridge University Press, 160 pp., £3

THE FINAL PARTITION of Poland amongst its neighbours in 1795 gained the Russian Empire the major part of the territory and population of the conquered state. There were attempts at regaining independence during the Napoleonic wars and uprisings in 1830 and 1863 but they all ended in disaster, due in the main to the indifference of the townspeople and of the masses of enslaved peasantry to a struggle which was conducted by their overlords, the small gentry. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century the industrial revolution belatedly came to Poland, and with it a rapid development of industry and tremendous growth of urban centres. Poland became the supplier of consumer goods to the Russian Empire. The working and living conditions of the artisans and new industrial workers were inhuman.

The industrial working class has changed and broadened the character of the struggle of the Polish people. It became a confrontation with the new bourgeoisie, their servants and their protector, the Tsarist autocracy. This

book is the first study in English of the Polish working class movement, and confines itself to the period 1878-86, which saw the foundation of the so-called Socialist Revolutionary Party 'Proletariat'. Mr Lucjan Blit intends it as the first book of a series on the subject. It is an amazing story of the maturity, farsightedness and heroism of the leaders and followers of the first political party based on Marxism. The founders were Polish students from various Russian universities who came under the influence of the Russian revolutionary movement, mainly the Narodnaya Volya. In the late seventies a number of socialist discussion circles existed in Warsaw, consisting mainly of graduates and students. The translation of Marx's works began in the same period. The most outstanding personality in the leadership of these groups was Ludwik Warynski who in 1877 arrived in Warsaw from St Petersburg where he was expelled from the university for revolutionary activities. He was a brilliant theoretician, agitator and organiser.

In 1878 the first Marxist socialist programme was published and formed the basis for the establishment of the Socialist Revolutionary Party 'Proletariat' in 1882, with groups in all important industrial centres. The leadership unanimously decided the new party to be an organic section of the all-Russian revolutionary movement and subject to a centralised political leadership. There were many Poles in the Narodnaya Volya which was by that time in decline, and Russians were active in the 'Proletariat'. When the Tsarist Police finally managed in 1886 to destroy the new party, with the arrest of most of the leadership and active cadres, the Russian, Piotr Bardowski, ended his life on the gallows with three of the Polish leaders, and three Russian

officers were amongst those who received life sentences. The heroic Ludwik Warynski perished in the Schlüsselburg fortress in 1889 at the age of 33. Though physically destroyed, 'Proletariat' engendered the Marxist tradition of militancy and internationalism in the Polish labour movement.

Mr Blit has made a contribution to our knowledge of the period, but marred occasionally by a flippant exhibition of anti-Marxism and incorrect historical analogies.

MAURICE LICHTIG

Governing Without Consensus: An Irish Perspective

Richard Rose

Faber & Faber, 568 pp., £6

AN AMERICAN political scientist has given us a mountain of social statistics about political divisions in Northern Ireland, an area created by a neighbouring power, for its supporters, who in drawing its borders included a fair proportion of the majority of the population, thus creating on a smaller scale the old minority-majority problem, with the score now on the imperial side.

Professor Rose gives a clear picture of former Premier, Eton-educated Captain Terence O'Neill's endeavour to be fair to the natives and his dictum that 'Unionism armed with justice' would be better than 'Unionism armed merely with strength', which angered his right wing who thought he was going soft.

According to Professor Rose the British Government were in a dilemma. The Catholics by their actions had shown the police and British troops to be on the offensive. The supporters of the regime were well armed and the former B-Specials were allowed to keep certain arms on condition that they registered them through gun clubs.

There is no opposition at present in

the Stormont Parliament. The Social and Democrat Labour Party have stated they will not take part in Government until internment is ended, for until they at least have the chance to put politics into practice with a hope of educating the working class elements who compose the Unionist Party they will forever be a minority.

This is what Professor Rose has failed to comprehend. The Civil Rights Movement want the right to make politics a debatable issue and not related to the divisions created by fifty years of Tory/Unionist rule. For those who want a book with sociological data on a politically divided working class this book is recommended.

PETER MULLIGAN

Science, Industry and Society

Stephen Cotgrove and Steven Box

Allen & Unwin, 212 pp., £1.50

I HEARD BERNAL once prove, with great enjoyment, that at the current rate of increase in the number of scientists compared with the rate of increase of the population generally, there would soon be more scientists than people. There is no doubt that the shape and speed of scientific development is raising very important questions about the relationship between scientists, their work and the society they live in. The scope of this book, however, is quite different. Some surveys of about 300 science students and about 400 scientists working in industry in the mid 1960s are described and reported, covering ambitions, background and opinions. The tabulations are interesting, as any thoroughly carried out opinion poll is interesting. Much of the work was apparently done originally for a Ph.D thesis in sociology, and the book bears the scars. As to the questions raised in the title, there is little enlightenment, although that is the fault of the title rather than the book.

PHIL GOODWIN

Workers' Self-Management in Algeria

Ian Clegg

Allen Lane, 250 pp., £3.25

THE BASIC ASSUMPTION behind most of Mr Clegg's thinking on the Algerian question is that workers' 'self-management' (control of factories and farms by the workers employed there, independently of central authority) represents the highest form of socialism, and that the 'clash between centralising and libertarian tendencies contains the classic dilemma of socialism.' He adds: 'Before judgment is passed the situation must be subjected to vigorous analysis, for which there is no space here.'

But even without the analysis, Mr Clegg passes judgment. Throughout his book he asserts that the Soviet Union is no model for socialists, displaying all the characteristics of bureaucracy, state capitalism and imperialism. Thus when Algeria tried to break her dependence on the imperialist countries by entering into trade relations with the Soviet Union, Mr Clegg comments: 'Basically all that this represents is diversification from one form of dominance to another.'

On the other hand, while 'self-management in Yugoslavia cannot be portrayed as being in any way ideal; however, it remains true that the workers there have a greater control over the management of labour than anywhere else.'

What Mr Clegg does not assess is which society is the more socialist, and why. Nor does he define socialism. Yet his failure to do so detracts from his otherwise valuable and detailed analysis of the rise and fall of workers' self-management in Algeria. It is perhaps no accident that, as Mr Clegg sadly records, workers' self-management has collapsed or been destroyed wherever it has been started. In the case of Algeria, he finds that 'in just over five years the Algerian revolution had been recuperated, institutional-

ised and then emasculated by a new bourgeois *élite* firmly entrenched in the state and party.' The Algerian working class was unable to withstand the counter-attack because of the lack of revolutionary class consciousness, arising from their objective relationship to the means of production.

A question which nags at the reader throughout this study is whether or to what extent workers' self-management is compatible with socialism. May it not, in fact, open the way to a conflict with the state? In his final chapter, Mr Clegg lays down conditions which lead to the conclusion that workers' self-management cannot flourish until the state begins to wither away; and even then it may only help to promote alienation if the level of revolutionary consciousness is not high enough.

Meanwhile, in an era of revolution, counter-revolution, cold and hot war, what do we do? Mr Clegg does not point the way forward, even in Algeria.

BRIAN BUNTING

Labour and Unemployment 1900-1914

Kenneth D. Brown

David & Charles, 220 pp., £3

UNEMPLOYED in Lancashire, Yorkshire and Cardiff, seizing and cultivating unused land belonging to church or railway company; 'church parades' to shock fashionable congregations in Brighton; hunger marches from Midlands to the West End—these were some methods of the Right to Work Committees of seventy years ago. The revolt of the masses against unemployment between the Boer War and the first world war started a chain of events, ranging from panic measures, political gimmicks and a royal commission to genuine relief works and the beginning of social security. This timely book is a painstaking study of relations between

the all too often divided sections of the labour movement on a single problem which (the author perhaps shows little awareness) is endemic to capitalist society. However, the reader will see that, with capitalist crisis infinitely further advanced today, the recipe remains the same, but in a different dimension: mass movement with political action at all levels. The Clydeside grandchildren of Stewart Grey's hunger marchers are already giving the right to work and social security a wholly new meaning and direction: it is the road to socialism.

ANGELA TUCKETT

Pluto's Chain
Y. Markhinin

Progress Publishers (Central Books),
214 pp., 75p

THIS BOOK by a Soviet geologist, tells of the dangerous occupation of those who mount expeditions to visit and examine volcanoes. The narrative is beautifully descriptive and often exciting, and is liberally interspersed with clear explanations of geological phenomena. In the first part the author recounts his visits to the volcanoes of the Kamchatka Peninsula in the extreme south-east of the Soviet Union. Here one may read of the majestic beauty of volcanoes as well as of their horrifyingly destructive nature, and the author's descriptions of his visits to witness the eruptions of Mt Bezmyanny in 1961 and of Mt Karym in 1963 make particularly compelling reading. The second part deals with the author's voyages in the schooner 'Geolog' to the Kuril Islands which form an arcuate chain stretching from Kamchatka to Japan. As in the first part, volcanoes, hot springs, fumaroles, and solfataras are described, but the reader will also find here accounts, often amusing, of

the fauna and flora of the region. There are also some short passages on the economic uses of volcanic heat and the products of volcanic activity.

One can make some scientific criticisms of some of the things said in the book: the account of the formation of mountain belts is very inadequate, and, as it stands, incorrect; and it is a great pity that when the author explains how the Earth's crust has been formed he makes no mention of the important modern concepts of ocean floor spreading and plate tectonics. As a whole it is well translated, except for a few obvious errors. It will be of interest both to those who like travel adventures and to the geologically minded layman. First year university and A-level earth science students will find it a welcome relief from the dreary standard texts.

JOHN LAING

The Luddites and Other Essays
Edited by Lionel M. Munby

Katanka, 282 pp., £3.50

FOR MANY YEARS the History Group of the Communist Party has been publishing a quarterly duplicated pamphlet under the title *Our History*. Subjects have ranged widely from Homeric Greece to the second world war. Wisely, I think, this volume of reprints has restricted itself to Britain in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Its twelve essays fall pretty much into three groups. The first deals with aspects of cultural history that have received inadequate attention from more orthodox sources. In this group we have Ray Watkinson's absorbing study of Thomas Bewick, the first and perhaps greatest of our wood engravers and a sturdy and consistent radical. John Miller writes about 'Songs of the Labour Movement', with a wealth of examples from the English Jacobins to today. Y. V. Kovalev provides a Russian

viewpoint on Chartist literature.

A second group gives some reassessments of important historical themes and events. This includes Alfred Jenkin's 'Chartism and the Trade Unions', Stanley Broadbridge's 'The Lancashire Cotton Famine' and Eric Hobsbawm's study of some of 'The Lesser Fabians'. Perhaps most important is the essay on 'The Ludites from 1779 to 1830'. This shows the great variety of movements embraced under this name and emphasises the need to study every case separately and in detail.

Finally we have a number of studies resulting from research into local history. These deserve attention not only in themselves but as models of what can be done in almost any area. George Barnsby on 'Chartism in the Black Country' is important as showing that here, at least, Chartism did not fold up after 1848 but con-

tinued to flourish vigorously through the 1850s. 'The Revolt of the Field in East Anglia' by A. J. Peacock is an extremely well documented study of trade unionism in Norfolk and Suffolk during the 1870s. R. Page Arnot's 'The General Strike in the North East' is able to draw on personal experiences as well as hitherto unpublished documents. 'Sheffield Shop Stewards in the First World War' is of peculiar interest because Bill Moore was able to enlist the help of a number of veteran militants who took an active part in the events it describes.

In 'Tom Mann and his Times 1890-92' we have a chapter salvaged from the manuscripts of Dona Torr. Its outstanding interest and value is a reminder of how much we all lost when her death left her great work on Tom Mann unfinished.

A. L. MORTON

LABOUR MONTHLY

FIFTY YEARS AGO

I am of opinion that capitalism has received a mortal injury, and can never regain its pre-war strength and vitality. But it is impossible to calculate the rate of its disintegration, and in our present policy we must be guided by the facts of today and the prospects of the immediate future. I cannot base my political measures, my diplomacy and finance on the supposition that the socialist revolution will break out, say, in December in Germany or America. I have no data and cannot risk a false estimate.

We must recognise, therefore, that for the present we are perforce living in an environment of unfriendly capitalist states. We must be continually on the alert, and must never forget that we are surrounded by enemies ready to seize every opportunity to do us an ill turn, whether in trade or war. Our external enemies watch carefully every event in our internal affairs, and will take advantage of the least sign of a weak spot, not merely to injure us, but to destroy the Soviet power, which flaunts like a red flag over the world, points the way to the international proletariat and threatens the existence of the capitalist order. And still we must work in the midst of these implacable enemies, and enter into business relations with them, because without them we are unable to live and to restore our agriculture...

Our country's natural resources are enormous. We have inexhaustible deposits of fuel and ore. We have a population of 130,000,000 souls. We have the people that produced Tolstoy and Mendeliev. With the dictatorship of the proletariat, the nationalisation of large scale industry and the nationalisation of foreign trade we shall overcome our economic troubles as we have overcome our military troubles.

(From 'Our Trade Policy', by Leonid Krassin, *Labour Monthly*, January 1922)

UNITED ACTION

ONE of *Labour Monthly*'s new readers sent us a letter last month in which she says: 'I have been a socialist for over 30 years, and would you believe it I have only just heard of *LM*! I saw it advertised in *Tribune* and sent for a copy at once.'

She goes on to describe how it is to live in an area which suffers from a rather unpleasant form of pollution—overpopulation by Tories: 'I live in the Chichester constituency with Chris Chataway as my MP and one of the biggest Tory majorities in the country.' Her isolation, as she tells us, is all the harder to bear for seeing the way things are going under this Government, and for being away from any centre of large-scale activity, no longer as at one time 'in the forefront of all the demonstrations.'

I am sure she and others who face this great difficulty—isolation from others in the labour movement, even from others with socialist ideas—must take heart at the news of the advances being made wherever people face this Government in united action, involving any number from two upwards.

But united action when you're on your own—now there's a problem. If you can afford any small amount towards our monthly fund target of £100, of course *that's* a blow at the Tories. And it's one of many needed to start an active eventful 1972.

Nicola Seyd

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